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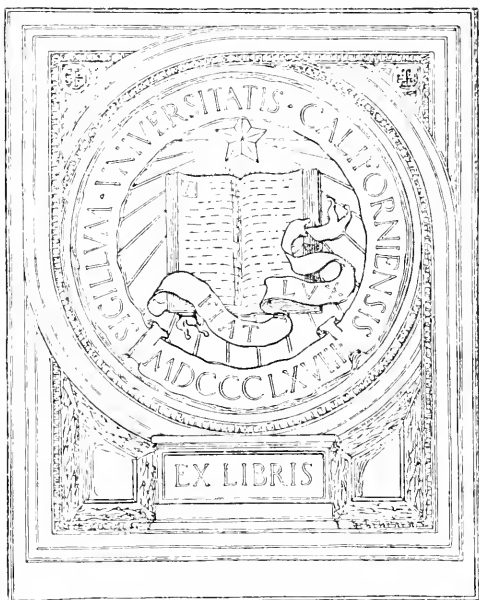
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IN MEMORIAM
George Davidson
1825-1911



Professor of Geography
University of California

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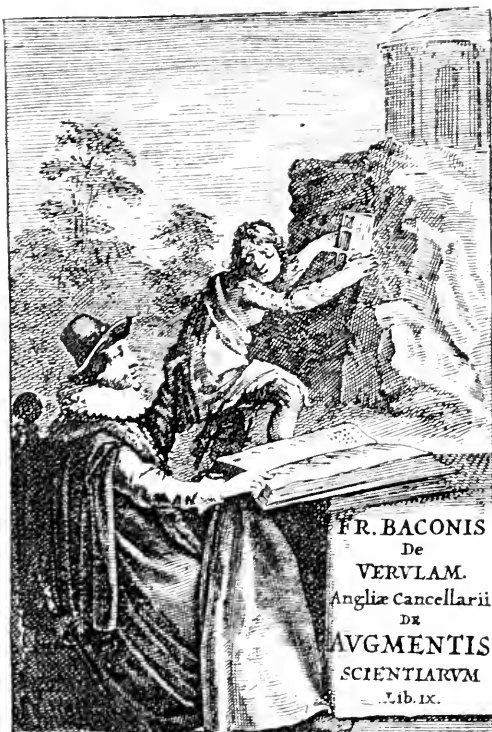
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FR. BACONIS
De
VERVLAM.
Angliae Cancellarii
DE
AVGMENTIS
SCIENTIARVM
Lib. IX.

LVGD. BATAVORVM
Apud Franciscum Moiardum.
Et Adrianum Wijngaerde. Anno 1645.

July 12 / 98

My Dear Mr. Davidson:

On my return to the city, I
have yr. kind favor of the 9th ult^o.

I shall look for the Astronomy
art. to wh. you refer at once.

I treat the subject at length in a
Supplementary volume to my 7th
Ed., the MS. of which is now in
the hands of my publishers. It is
a singular coincidence that while
the tides are attributed to the
influence of the moon in Every

naive, showing uniformly a development
in the two authors.

I am just printing in a small pamphlet
for private circulation the particulars of an
interesting discovery made by me recently
in Europe, prefaced by a
in my book. I shall take pleasure in sending
you a copy.

Perhaps you are connected with the Faculty of

edition of Hamlet issued previously
to 1616, (except the imperfect one of
1603) it was excluded from the
Folio version of the play in 1623;
while Bacon's repudiation of that
theory dates from that time,
viz. 1616. You will find the theory
stated in Hamlet of 1604, 1605,
1611, & in the undated Hamlet,
somewhat later than 1611; modern
editors have restored it to the
play, contrary to the intention
of the author. I have discovered
four other coincidences of this

Prof. Davidson whom I had once known &
highly esteem.

Yours truly
Smith Reed

George Davidson Esq

2221 Washington St.

San Francisco

Cal.

FRANCIS BACON ✓

AND THE

MUSE OF TRAGEDY

BY

EDWIN REED

— *FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION*

BOSTON

GEO. H. ELLIS, PRINTER, 141 FRANKLIN STREET

1898

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FRANCIS BACON AND THE MUSE OF TRAGEDY.

Francis Bacon died April 9, 1626. In his last will he made disposition of his unpublished writings as follows : —

I desire my executors, especially my brother Constable and also Mr. Bosvile, presently after my decease, to take into their hands all my papers whatsoever, which are either in cabinets, boxes, or presses, and them to seal up till they may at their leisure peruse them.

Some time after Bacon's death (probably in 1627), in accordance with this provision of the will, Mr. Bosvile, or (as he is better known) Sir William Boswell, British Minister to Holland, having possession of the manuscripts, carried them with him to the Hague, and there committed them to his learned friend, Isaac Gruter, for publication. Gruter took the matter in hand, but determined first of all to reissue for Continental readers the works of Bacon which had previously been printed in England. Accordingly, in anticipation of his work on the manuscripts, he edited and published the following : —

Sapientia Veterum, Leyden.	1633
Historia Ventorum.	"	1638
Essays,	"	1641
"	"	1644
Novum Organum	"	1645
De Augmentis	"	1645
History of Henry VII.	"	1647
Sylva Sylvarum	"	1648
New Atlantis	"	1648
Novum Organum	"	1650
De Augmentis	"	1652

In 1653 Gruter finally gave to the world, in a book printed at Amsterdam and entitled *Francisci Baconi de Verulamio Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia*, nineteen of the manuscripts with which he had been intrusted by Boswell. In an "Address to the Reader," prefixed to the volume, he tells us that he and Boswell had had many long, confidential interviews on the subject, in consequence of which, as it appears, some of the papers in the collection were, for reasons not given, withheld from the public. The exact statement is as follows: —

All these hitherto unpublished writings you owe, dear reader, to the most noble William Boswell, to whom they were devised by Bacon himself, together with others of a political and moral nature, which are now, by gift of the deceased, in my private keeping, and which are not to be printed for a long time to come.*

That Gruter regarded these reserved papers, whatever they were, as important, and that he was compelled against his will to keep them back in the dark, we know beyond a doubt; for on March 20, 1655, he wrote to Sir William Rawley, Bacon's old chaplain and amanuensis in London, a letter in which he expressed great impatience because he was not permitted to publish them. He said: —

At present I will restrain my impatient desires, in the hope of seeing some day those things which, now committed to faithful privacy, await the time when they may safely see the light and not be stifled in their birth.†

What was the nature of that secret? What was discovered among Bacon's private papers after his death, which his executors were unwilling, but which Isaac Gruter, the last-known custodian of the papers, was impatient to make public?

* For a copy of Gruter's "Address to the Reader," in the original Latin, with the sentence translated above, in italics, see Appendix A.

† We give this sentence in Latin, also, as Gruter wrote it. *Nunc vota impatientis desiderii sustentabo spe aliquando videndi, quæ fidei mandata latebris occasionem expectant ut tultò in lucem educantur, non eneantur suffocato fortu.*

The fact that there did exist a secret of some kind in Bacon's literary work can easily be proved. It is fully recognized in Spedding, Ellis, and Heath's standard edition of Bacon's Works, published in 1857. Mr. Ellis discusses the question in his preface to the *Novum Organum*. He assumes that Bacon, having discovered a new philosophical method, determined, in accordance with the spirit of the Middle Ages, to "veil it in an abrupt and obscure style," for the reason that, "like a concealed treasure, its value would be decreased if others were allowed to share in it." No serious refutation of such an absurdity can be needed. Mr. Spedding himself repudiates it, declaring it to be "irreconcilable both with the objects which he [Bacon] had in view, and with the spirit in which he appears to have pursued them." He admits the existence of what he calls a "great secret" in Bacon's philosophy; but he also admits, after thirty years of unremitting study of the subject, his own inability to solve the problem in a manner satisfactory even to himself. "It is a question," he allows Mr. Ellis, his associate, to say without a protest, "to which every fresh inquirer gives a fresh answer." Indeed, it has been this very mystery under every kind of treatment down to the present time that has led editors and commentators of Bacon's philosophical system to pronounce the system itself a failure.*

The truth is, Bacon divided his scheme into two parts, with an entirely distinct, peculiar, and original method for each. For the first part, his method consists in making an exhaustive compilation of the phenomena of nature, and in classifying them on the basis of the fundamental properties that are common to one another. He sought to

*"Very few of those who have spoken of Bacon have understood his method."—*Ellis, Spedding, and Heath's edition of Bacon's Works*, i. 150 (Cambridge, Mass., 1863).

"It becomes impossible to justify or understand Bacon's assertion that his method was essentially new."—*Ibid.*, i. 65.

Mr. Spedding's personal confession of ignorance on this important point may well astonish us: "Of his [Bacon's] peculiar system of philosophy . . . we can make nothing. We regard it as a curious piece of machinery, very subtle, elaborate, and ingenious, but not worth constructing" (v. 419).

accomplish for the entire universe what Linnæus subsequently did for plants and Cuvier for animals; that is, to arrange observed facts into allied groups, and by a series of exclusions to arrive finally at a knowledge of the elementary principles that underlie all things. In this way he thought he could reduce what appears to be endless complexity into an alphabet, and thus enable mankind by new combinations of causes to acquire that absolute control over nature which, he was fond of asserting, it had once possessed and lost. This method, however, though the most ambitious that ever entered into the mind of man to conceive, was no secret. It is emblazoned on every page of Bacon's works.

The secret is in the other branch of the system,—the branch that has to do with the delivery of knowledge to the world. It is somewhat obscurely referred to in one of the paragraphs of the *De Augmentis*, as follows:—

There is another method of Delivery, similar in its object to the one already described, but in reality almost the reverse. Both methods agree in aiming to separate the dull among the auditors from the select; but they vary in this,—that one makes use of a way of delivery more open, the other a way of delivery more secret. Let one be distinguished as the Exoteric method, the other (of which I am going to speak) as the Acroamatic, ^{for the public}—a distinction observed by the ancients chiefly in the publication of books, but which I transfer to the method of delivery itself. The ancients used it with judgment and discretion; but in later times it has been disgraced by many who have made it as a false and deceitful light, in which to put forward their counterfeit merchandise. The intention, however, seems to be by obscurity of delivery to exclude the vulgar (that is, the profane vulgar) from the secrets of knowledge, and to admit those persons only who have either received the interpretation of the enigmas through the hands of teachers or have wits of such sharpness and discernment that they can of themselves pierce the veil.*

The fair interpretation to be given to the above is this: Ancient philosophers were accustomed to divide their doctrines into two classes, namely: the exoteric, which they

* For the original Latin, see Appendix B.

freely published to the world, and the esoteric, or acroa-
matic, which they did not publish at all, but which they
reserved in private for their disciples. Bacon, having no
disciples, says in effect :—

I intend to preserve the same distinction as the ancients did, but I
shall apply it differently. I shall publish my philosophy by two differ-
ent methods simultaneously.—one in a book or set of books openly for
all, and another in a book or set of books enigmatically for a few, or (to
use his own words) for those only who have or may have in the future
“sufficient sharpness or discernment to pierce the veil.”

4, C'p. 1.

In corroboration of this view, we quote, in the first place,
a passage from Bacon's *Temporis Partus Masculus*, in
which this very mode of delivering knowledge enigmatically
is treated thus :—

By this mode, the most legitimate of all, my son, I may perhaps ex-
tend the now deplorably narrow limits of man's dominion over nature
to the utmost bounds. “But what,” you will ask, “is this legitimate
mode?” I hear you say to me, “Lay aside artifice and circumlocution,
and explain your design just as it is, that I may be able to form a judg-
ment on it for myself.” I would, my dearest son, that matters were in
such a state with you as to render this possible. Do you suppose that
when the entrances to the minds of all men are obstructed with the
darkest errors—and those deep-seated and, as it were, burnt-in—
smooth, even spaces can be found in those minds, so that the light of
truth can be accurately reflected from them? A new process must be
instituted, by which we may insinuate ourselves into natures so disor-
dered and closed up. For, as the delusions of the insane are removed
by art and ingenuity, but aggravated by opposition and violence, so
must we choose methods here that are adapted to the general insanity.
Indeed, it is sufficient if my method of delivery in question be ingenu-
ous, if it afford no occasion for error, if it conciliate belief, if it repel the
injuries of time, and if it be suited to proper and reasonable readers.
Whether it have these qualities or not, I appeal to the future to show.*

Here, then, is Bacon's own description in general terms
of one of the two methods, the secret one, adopted by him
for communicating his philosophy to the public. He ex-

* For the original Latin, see Appendix C.

pressly declines to go into particulars in regard to it, to tell exactly what it is, to what kind of writing it will be applied, or whether or not he will put his name to it. We know that by means of it he expected his ideas to steal into men's minds almost imperceptibly, certainly without opposition, and that the full effect of the literature, so produced, would be felt, not at the time in which he wrote, but in after ages.* This repugnance to anything like contention in the work of reform was perhaps the leading trait in Bacon's personal character. He often referred, with great enthusiasm, to the witty saying of Pope Alexander about Charles VIII.'s unresisted invasion of Italy,—that the “conqueror came with chalk in his hands to mark up lodging-places for his soldiers, rather than arms to force his way in.” If we would understand Bacon, we must constantly bear in mind that this was the method by which he sought to conquer the intellectual world.†

We now come to what has been for us, and we think it will also be for our readers, a startling revelation. Among Bacon's manuscript papers published for the first time by Gruter in 1653, twenty-seven years after Bacon's death, was one entitled *Cogitata et Visa*. It contains a rapid sketch of the author's philosophical system, as then in process of development, and particularly (in the last paragraph) of the secret or enigmatical kind of writing in which an important part of that system was to be embodied. It appears, however, that in this latter and most interesting section Gruter omitted two very significant passages. No notice of the

* “The fruits which he anticipated from his philosophy were not only intended for the benefit of all mankind, but were to be gathered in another generation.”—*Spedding, Ellis, and Heath's edition of Bacon's Works*, i. 188.

On this point Bacon himself says, “It may truly be objected to me that my philosophy will require an age, a whole age, to commend it, and very many ages thoroughly to establish it.”—*De Augmentis*.

† “As Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French to Naples, ‘that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, but not with weapons to break in,’ so I like better that entry of truth which comes peaceably, as with chalk to mark up these minds which are capable of lodging and harboring such a guest, than that which forces its way with pugnacity and contention.”—*De Augmentis*.

omissions is given in his book. Indeed, so cleverly was the work of mutilation performed that for a period of two hundred and four years succeeding no suspicion of it was excited in any quarter, though in the interval the paper was translated several times from the original Latin into English and French, precisely as Gruter had printed it. Some time before 1857, however, Mr. Spedding found another manuscript copy of the *Cogitata* in the library of the Queen's College at Oxford; and, as this was also undoubtedly genuine, having been corrected here and there by Bacon himself, he wisely concluded to follow this copy, instead of Gruter's printed form, in the edition he was then preparing for the press. It was when these two publications were compared that the said discrepancies, now for the first time critically examined, became known. Evidently, Mr. Ellis had no knowledge whatever of them, and Mr. Spedding no practical appreciation of their importance, the former quoting freely from the immediate context (undoubtedly from Gruter's copy, before the Oxford manuscript was discovered), and the latter declaring (apparently on the most cursory examination) that the "differences are immaterial." It is hard to understand, except on the suppositions which we have ventured to suggest in parentheses, why these editors did not find herein an additional significance in Bacon's "secret," which, even in their blindness, they yet describe as a "new sun before which the 'borrowed beams of moon and stars' were to fade away and disappear."

We now offer a translation of the entire paragraph as printed by Messrs. Ellis, Spedding, and Heath, with the omitted passages (never before translated into English) in italics:—

He [Bacon] thought, also, that what he has in hand is not mere theory, but a practical undertaking. It lays the foundations, not of any sect or dogma, but of a great and far-reaching benefit to mankind. Therefore, attention must be given, not only to the perfection of the matter, but also (and this is of equal importance) to the communication of it to

others. But he has observed that men minister to their love of fame and pomp sometimes by publishing and sometimes by concealing the knowledge of things which they think they have acquired, particularly those who offer unsound doctrines, which they do in a scanty light, that they may more easily satisfy their vanity. He thought, however, that, while his subject is one that ought not to be tainted with personal ambition or desire of glory, still (unless he were a mere tyro, not knowing the ways of the world and without foresight) he must remember that inveterate errors, like the ravings of lunatics, are overcome by ingenuity and tact, but aggravated by violence and opposition. We must therefore use prudence, and humor people (as far as we can with simplicity and candor), in order that contradictions may be extinguished before they become inflamed. To this end he is preparing a work on Nature and on the Interpretation of Nature, to abolish errors with the least asperity, and to affect the minds of men without disturbing them. And this he can do the more easily because he will not offer himself as a leader, but will so spread abroad the light of nature that no leader will be needed. But, as time meanwhile glides away, and he has been engaged in civil affairs more than he wished, it seemed to be a long work, — especially, considering the uncertainty of life and his own impatient desire to make something secure. Therefore, it has appeared to him that a simpler method might be adopted, which, though not set forth to the multitude, might yet prevent so important a matter from being prematurely lost. So he thought best, after long considering the subject and weighing it carefully, first of all to prepare *Tabulae Inveniendi*, or regular forms of inquiry : in other words, a mass of particulars arranged for the understanding, and to serve, as it were, for an example and almost visible representation of the matter. For nothing else can be devised that would place in a clearer light what is true and what is false, or show more plainly that what is presented is more than words, and must be avoided by any one who either has no confidence in his own scheme or may wish to have his scheme taken for more than it is worth.

But when these Tabulae Inveniendi have been put forth and seen, he does not doubt that the more timid wits will shrink almost in despair from imitating them with similar productions with other materials or on other subjects : and they will take so much delight in the specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it. Still, many persons will be led to inquire into the real meaning and highest use of these writings, and to find the key to their interpretation, and thus more ardently desire, in some degree at least, to acquire the new aspect of nature which such a key will reveal. But he intends, yielding neither to his own personal aspirations nor to the wishes of others, but keeping steadily in view the success of his undertaking, having shared these writings with some, to

withhold the rest, until the treatise intended for the people shall be published.

Nevertheless, he anticipates that some persons of higher and more exalted genius, taking a hint from what they observe, will without more aid apprehend and master the others of themselves. For he is almost of the opinion (as some one has said) that this will be enough for the wise, while more will not be enough for the dull. *He will therefore intermit no part of his undertaking.* At the same time he saw that, *so far as these writings are concerned*, to begin his teaching directly with them would be too abrupt. Something suitable ought to be said by way of preface, and this in the foregoing he thinks he has now done.

Besides, he does not wish to conceal this or to impose any rigid forms of inquiry upon men (after the manner now in vogue in the arts); but he is assured that, when these productions have all been tested after long use and (as he thinks) with some judgment, this form of investigation, thus proved and exhibited by him, will be found the truest and most useful. Still, he would not hinder those who have more leisure than he has or who are free from the special difficulties which always beset the *pioneer* or who are of a more powerful and sublime genius from improving on it; for he finds in his own experience that the art of inventing grows by invention itself.

Finally, it has seemed to him that, if any good be found in what has been or shall be set forth, it should be dedicated as the fat of the sacrifice to God, and to men in God's likeness who procure the welfare of mankind by benevolence and true affection.*

In this description, written by Bacon (evidently under some kind of restraint) in or about 1608, of his acroamatic or enigmatical writings, we note the following salient points:—

1. They are styled *Tabulae Inveniendi*.
2. They are said to constitute an "almost visible" representation of that part of the philosophical system to which they pertain.
3. They are designed to show in some subjects the clearest possible distinctions between what is true and what is false.
4. They cannot be imitated by the timorous, especially for the reason that such persons will take so great delight in each specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it.
5. But readers of a more alert genius, or [if we rightly un-

* For the original Latin, see Appendix D.

derstand the phrase "visible" used in this connection] spectators, will suspect the existence of some hidden meanings in these writings, and thus be led to inquire what those meanings are and for what high and noble purpose designed. This is called the *Key to their Interpretation*.

6. The author will be under some kind of temptation to secure immediate personal fame or glory in connection with them, and subject also to importunities of friends for the same purpose.

7. These temptations and importunities, however, will be resisted, and the secret, whatever it may be, preserved for future times.

8. Some of these writings were to be withheld from the public until the corresponding treatise, intended to a certain extent to be open and explicit, should be published.

9. They are the most useful forms of inquiry that can be employed in the ascertainment of truth.

10. Isaac Gruter, the last-known custodian of Bacon's posthumous papers, and the possessor of some important secret which they had revealed to him, and which he had been forbidden to communicate to the public, carefully excluded from his printed copy of the *Cogitata et Visa* the passages containing the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth statements herein summarized. The omissions were not supplied until 1857, and then only in Latin.

Let us review these several points in order : —

1. *The writings are styled Tabulae Inveniendi.*

Bacon divided his great work on Philosophy, the *Instauratio Magna*, into six parts, the first four of which may be described as follows : —

Part first gives a survey or inventory of the stock of knowledge then existing in the world, with a statement of the deficiencies found in it. To this part belongs the "Advancement of Learning," particularly the second edition under the title of *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.

Part second treats of the human understanding, and the

rules and principles by which it ought to be guided in its researches after truth. Under this head is placed the *Novum Organum*.

Part third brings together, or seeks to bring together, out of every department of nature but one, the widest possible collection of facts, "arranged for the work of the understanding," and so classified as to yield to mankind, in Bacon's expectation, not only a better knowledge of the laws of the universe, but also a larger practical control over them. The writings in this division are the *Sylva Sylvarum*, "History of the Winds," "History of Dense and Rare," "History of Life and Death," and some others. The author's investigations into the nature of heat and motion, though produced also by way of examples in the *Novum Organum*, come properly into the system here. These compositions are called *Tabulae Inveniendi*, or "Tables of Discovery," because they are inquiries into facts and because they have a certain regularity of form. The *Sylva Sylvarum*, for instance, is separated into ten centuries (chapters), so called because each century is itself separated into one hundred distinct paragraphs. The author's investigations into the nature of heat, sound, and motion, are treated in a similar manner. The books of the Bible, being in chapter and verse numerically arranged, are *tabulae*, and so are dramas in acts and scenes.

Part fourth was also designed, like the third, for an inquiry into facts, but, as we shall show, into facts of a mental and moral nature exclusively. Strange as it may seem, however, not a single line, except a brief preface entitled *Scala Intellectus*, can be found in Bacon's acknowledged works that belongs under this head.* And yet we know, from several references to it made by Bacon elsewhere, that he considered it a necessary and integral part of his philosophical system. For instance, he says in the *Novum Organum* : —

* "Of the fourth part not a fragment has come down to us." — *Spedding*, v. 174.

It may also be asked whether I speak of natural philosophy only, or whether I mean that the other sciences, logic, ethics, and politics, should be carried on by this method. Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all. . . . For I form a history and *Tabulae Inveniendi* for anger, fear, shame, and the like, for matters political, and again for the operation of memory and judgment, not less than for heat or cold or light or vegetation.

In the *Filum Labyrinthi* he is even more specific in his description of these moral and political *Tabulae Inveniendi*; for he there gives a list of thirteen classes of them, four of which are entitled as follows: "*tabulae* concerning animal passions; *tabulae* concerning sense and the objects of sense; *tabulae* concerning the affections of the mind; and *tabulae* concerning the mind itself and its faculties."

Where, now, are these writings that deal with the passions and affections of the human heart, "with anger, fear, shame, and the like," arranged in divisions, more or less regular in form, and numbered? They are missing; but that they were actually composed, and that they formed, or were designed to form, the fourth part of the *Instauratio Magna*, itself also missing, we have every reason to believe from what Bacon himself says of the fourth part:—

Of these the first is to set forth examples of inquiry and invention [*tabulae inveniendi*] according to my method, exhibited *by anticipation* in some particular subjects: choosing such subjects as are at once the *most noble in themselves* among those under inquiry, and most different one from another, that there may be an example of every kind. I do not speak of those examples which are joined to the several precepts and rules by way of illustration (for of these I have given plenty in the second part of the work); but I mean *actual types and models*, by which the entire process of the mind and the whole fabric and order of invention *from beginning to end, in certain subjects, and those various and remarkable*, should be set, as it were, *before the eyes*. For I remember that in mathematics it is easy to follow the demonstration when *you have a diagram before you*: whereas, without that help, all appears involved and more subtle than it really is. To devices of this kind—being, in fact, nothing more than an application of the second part in detail and at large—the fourth part of the work is devoted.—*Distributio Operis* (*Spedding, Ellis, and Heath*, viii. 51). (Italics our own.)

It is practically certain, therefore, that Bacon left behind him writings on moral and political subjects which for some reason were not openly acknowledged, which were arranged in regular or numbered divisions, which were devoted to the interpretation of human nature, and which, under the title of *Tabulae Inveniendi*, belonged to the fourth part (now generally considered either unwritten or lost) of his great philosophical work. That these were not the *tabulae* on heat and motion he expressly states in the passage we have quoted from the *Distributio Operis*. These latter belonged to the third part, that is, to the interpretation of physical nature.

2. *They are said to constitute an "almost visible" representation of that part of the philosophical system to which they pertain.*

This is in exact accordance with Bacon's description of the drama as "visible history,"—"Dramatica est veluti historia spectabilis" (*De Augmentis*.)

In another tract Bacon describes these writings as *tanquam vivas*, a phrase which Mr. Spedding translates, "as it were, animate," and Mr. Montagu, by the word "living."

3. *They are designed to show in some subjects the clearest possible distinctions between what is true and what is false.*

In the last analysis, experience is our sole guide in the conduct of life. Whatever in the long-run makes for happiness is right. Whatever in the long-run makes for misery is wrong. In most affairs, however, we can judge results only after several generations of men, one after another, have worked them out. Hence, for our criterion in many given cases we must go to history. But history can be abridged and made to teach in a few hours artificially, on the mimic stage, what in actual life may require, in the language of Bacon, "ambages of time." It is perhaps this special test of truth to which the writings of Bacon, now under consideration, must be referred.

Bacon himself (as above) compares this mode of investi-

gating truth with the use of diagrams in mathematics. What better illustration could there be of the certainty with which the course of envy, for example, is traced out, "before our eyes" and "from beginning to end," in "Julius Caesar," * or that of jealousy in "Othello" ?

4. *They cannot be imitated by the timorous, especially for the reason that such persons will take so great delight in each specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it.*

This remarkable prognostication, so exactly fulfilled, of the fate of the philosophy in the writings referred to, was made by Bacon in 1608, but not printed in any form (as before shown) until 1857. And yet Miss Delia Bacon, demanding to know in 1856 what had become of these same writings, and having no access, it is believed, to the manuscript of the *Cogitata et Visa*, inquired, "Did he [Bacon] make so deep a summer in his verse that the track of the precept was lost in it?" †

5. *But readers, or spectators, of a more alert genius will suspect the existence of some hidden meanings in these writings, and thus be led to inquire what these meanings are and for what high and noble purpose designed. This is called the Key to their Interpretation.*

Notwithstanding Bacon's own confession that a part of his philosophical system was enigmatic, no one has yet discovered in his acknowledged works any hidden meanings whatever.

6. *The author will be under some kind of temptation to secure immediate personal fame or glory in connection with them, and subject also to importunities of friends for the same purpose.*

This cannot apply to any of Bacon's known works ; for

*On this subject see F. S. F. Dixon's admirable work, entitled "Francis Bacon and his Shakespeare," pp. 155-303, Chicago, Sargent Publishing Company, 1893.

For a very able and scholarly exposition of the theory underlying this treatise, see also Henry J. Ruggles's "The Plays of Shakespeare, Founded on Literary Forms," Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895. Mr. Ruggles is a retired lawyer of New York, of advanced age, and a profound student of the philosophy in Shakespeare.

† This remarkable case of divination was pointed out to us by Augustus Hemenway, Esq.

Bacon took great pains to secure for them the widest publicity in his own time, dedicating them successively to members of the royal family, presenting them to influential friends, and depositing copies, as soon as printed, in public libraries.

7. These temptations and importunities, however, will be resisted; and the secret, whatever it may be, preserved for future times.

The reason for this secrecy is stated in the plainest possible manner. It was because Bacon sought entrance into men's minds, as Charles VIII. did into Italy, without opposition, and therefore, it may be inferred, wished to avoid any unnecessary prejudice that might have arisen from the form of the writings best adapted for his purpose. "I shall adhere," he says in substance, "to my preconceived plan, whatever its effect on my personal fortunes may be." Of course, if the form of the writings were in any manner deemed objectionable at that time, this fact would naturally have strengthened the motives, if it did not indeed originate them, operating against premature disclosure.

It should furthermore be noted that Bacon admonishes every one doing this work to do it as he did, "not only without hope of private emolument," * but also "under a mask." † We have his repeated assurances that he expected others to carry it on, perhaps even to greater perfection, in due time after his death. "My own experience teaches me," he said, "that the art of inventing grows by invention itself."

* "I am not hunting for fame nor establishing a sect. Indeed, to receive any private emolument from so great an undertaking I hold to be both ridiculous and base" — *Pedding, Edu. and Health*, vi. 430.

† "Privata negotia personatus administret." — *De Moribus Interpretat.* *Ibid.* vi. 377.

We are not surprised to find Mr. Spedding commenting on the above (in a footnote) as follows: "I cannot say that I clearly understand the sentence." Mr. Spedding did not see fit, however, in the fourteen large volumes of his edition of *Bacon's Life, Letters, and Works*, to translate the above passage into English.

The plain meaning is that the personal identity of the interpreter should be concealed, or (more literally) the interpreter should not be known as such in his daily life. He should bear an assumed name. This may remind our readers of Sir Toby Matthew's famous postscript appended to a letter written to Bacon at or about the time the first *Shakespeare folio* was in press; namely, that his lordship was the most prodigious wit in all the world though known by the name of another.

8. *Some of these writings were to be withheld from the public until the corresponding treatise, intended to a certain extent to be open and explicit, should be brought out.*

The *Novum Organum* was published in 1620. It was begun, Dr. Rawley says, at least twelve years before that date; that is, on or before 1608, at which time, also, the *Cogitata et Visa* was written. It appears, then, that in 1608 some of the enigmatical writings belonging to the fourth part of Bacon's philosophical system had already been published, but that the remainder were to be withheld until some work of a different kind, but connected with them, had also first been published. This work must have been the *Novum Organum*, for Bacon himself says (in a paragraph above quoted) that the writings of the fourth part of his philosophical system are "nothing more than an application of the second part [that is, of the *Novum Organum*] in detail and at large." The publication of the reserved writings was to be made, therefore, after 1620. The plays included in the first Shakespeare folio number thirty-six, of which twenty-five were in existence previously to 1608. Of these latter, however, sixteen only had been printed on or before that date: the others were "withheld," for reasons hitherto absolutely unknown and not even conjectured, until 1623, when they appeared for the first time in print.*

Moreover, Bacon distinctly asserts, in the paragraph already quoted from the *Distributio Operis*, that he should set forth his method by some examples "in anticipation" (that is, in advance of the publication of the *Novum Organum*); that for these examples he should "choose such subjects as are at once the most noble in themselves" and such, also, as would enable him to produce "actual types and models" of human life. He further asserts that he

* "Troilus and Cressida" appears at first sight to be an exception to this statement, for it was printed in 1609. On the contrary, it is a confirmation, the publisher stating in the preface that it had "escaped from grand possessors." It was printed against the author's will. Mr. Charles Knight says that this same restraining influence of some person or persons of high rank succeeded in keeping every other new Shakespearean play out of type between 1608 and 1620, but he does not attempt to account for it. "Othello" appeared in quarto in 1622.

should by no means fail to produce these "types and models,"* and that, when produced, they would belong to the fourth part of his philosophical system. Where are they? When were they published? Is a line of them, in prose, known to exist?

9. *They are the most useful forms of inquiry that can be employed in the ascertainment of truth.*

The most potent source of influence in the world, either for good or ill, is example. This comes to us generally, of course, in actual life, but oftentimes with far more force and impressiveness on the stage of a theatre. Bacon especially commends play-acting as a "means of educating men to virtue," and notices the fact that "minds are more open to impressions when people are gathered together than when they are alone." This he pronounces "one of the great secrets of nature."

10. *Isaac Gruter, the last-known custodian of Bacon's posthumous papers, and the possessor of some important secret which they had revealed to him, and which he had been forbidden to communicate to the public, carefully excluded from his printed copy of the *Cogitata et Visa* the passages containing the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth statements herein summarized. The omissions were not supplied till 1857, and then only in Latin.*

What, now, was the nature of these writings? Mr. Spedding says that at one period "Bacon thought of throwing the exposition of his argument into a dramatic form."† Can there be any doubt that he actually did this? If so, one additional circumstance, now for the first time adverted to, in Gruter's mysterious work, will, we are confident, set it definitely and forever at rest.

In 1645 Gruter published at Leyden an edition of Bacon's *De Augmentis*, and inserted in it, in accordance with a cus-

* "He will therefore intermit no part of his undertaking," — one of the passages omitted by Gruter in his printed copy of the *Cogitata et Visa*.

† *Works of Bacon*, vii. 363.

tom of the time, a pictorial allegory as a frontispiece. We reproduce this picture as our own frontispiece, also. In it Bacon appears seated at a table with a large open volume before him. He is pointing to this volume with the index finger of his right hand. With his left arm extended he is restraining a female figure intent upon carrying a clasped book to a temple, evidently the Temple of Fame, on a distant height. This figure is clad in a beast's skin, and is therefore, we think, the Muse of Tragedy, the word *tragedy* being derived from the two Greek words *πάγος* and *ᾠδή*, meaning goat and song (literally, goat-song). In ancient Greece the goat was sacred to the drama. At every performance in the theatre, actors and even members of the chorus wore goat-skins.

May we not interpret this allegory as follows? Bacon is here represented as the author of two works: one, open and acknowledged; the other, enigmatical, dramatic, and unacknowledged. The restraint exercised upon Gruter in his desire to publish some literary secret about Bacon is suggested by the struggling figure we see with a book, and the nature of the secret itself, not only by the identity of Bacon's companion in the picture, dressed in a goat's skin, but also by the evident relationship existing between the two books, — respectively body and soul of the Baconian philosophy.

APPENDIX A.

LECTORI S. ISAACUS GRUTERUS.

Quæ tibi damus Amice Lector, ad Universalem et Naturalem Philosophiam spectantia, ex Manuscriptis Codicibus, quos accurate recensuerat et varie emendarat author, me amanuense apographa sunt. Sola Bodlei epistola, quæ ad examen vocat 'Cogitata et Visa,' per me ex Anglico facta Latina est, atque ex opere epistolarum Baconi, quæ tali idiomate circumferuntur, huc translata ob materiæ cognationem. Titulus quem frons libri præfert et totum complectitur opusculi in varias dissertationes secti argumentum, ab ipso Verulamio est; quem singulæ exhibent paginæ ex rerum tractatarum serie distinctum, a me, ut minus confunderet quarentem Lectorem indiculi defectus. Quicquid sequitur, ab eo loco cujus inscriptio est in ipso contextu 'Indicia vera de interpretatione naturæ' usque ad finem, donavi eo nomine 'Impetus Philosophici,' quod ex familiaribus Viri magni colloquiis notassem, cum de istis chartis mecum ageret. Non aliter enim appellare solebat quicquid prioribus per titulos suos separatis connecteretur; ne quis imperfectum statim suspiceretur quod defervescente Impetu non videt trahere syrma proluxæ tractationis. *Omnia autem hæc inedita (nisi quod in editis paucissimis rara exstent quarundam ex his meditationum vestigia) debes, Amice Lector, Nobilissimo Guil. Boswello, ad quem ex ipsius Baconi legato pervenerant, cum aliis in politico et morali genere elaboratis, quæ nunc ex dono των μακαριτων penes me servantur non diu premenda.* Boswello inquam, viro nobilitate, prudentia insigni, varia eruditione, humanitate summa, et Oratori olim apud Batavos Anglo; cujus sancta mihi memoria est. Vale et conatibus nostris fave, qui mox plura daturi sumus Baconiana latine versa, maximam partem inedita; et συλλογην adornamus epistolarum quas vir eminentissimus Hugo Grotius scripsit ad Belgas, Germanos, Italos, Suecos, Danos, Gallis exceptis, quas Clarissimus Sarravius Senator Parisiensis edidit. Rogantur itaque in quorum manus hæc inciderint, ut, si quid ejus notæ habent, aut sciunt unde haberi queat, ad typographum transmittant, et significant, cæteris jam collectis aggregandum.

APPENDIX B.

Sequitur aliud Methodi discrimen, priori intentione affine, re ipsa fere contrarium. Hoc enim habet utraque Methodus commune, ut vulgus auditorum a selectis separet; illud oppositum, quod prior introduct

modum tradendi solito apertiorē: altera, de qua jam dicemus, occultiorē. Sit igitur discrimen tale, ut altera Methodus sit Exoterica altera Acroamatica. Etenim quam antiqui adhibuerunt præcipue in edendis libris differentiam, eam nos transferemus ad ipsum modum tradendi. Quinetiam Acroamatica ipsa apud veteres in usu fuit, atque prudenter et cum iudicio adhibita. At Acroamaticum sive Ænigmati- cum istud dicendi genus posterioribus temporibus debonestatum est a plurimis, qui eo tanquam lumine ambiguo et fallaci abusi sunt ad merces suas adulterinas extrudendas. Intentio autem ejus ea esse videtur, ut traditionis involucris vulgus (profanum scilicet) a secretis scientiarum summoveatur; atque illi tantum admittantur, qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolarum interpretationem nacti sunt, aut proprio ingenii acumine et subtilitate intra velum penetrare possint.— *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Liber VI.

APPENDIX C.

Ita sim (fili) itaque humani in universum imperii angustias nunquam satis deploratas ad datos fines proferam (quod mihi ex humanis solum in votis est), ut tibi optima fide, atque ex altissima mentis meæ providentia, et exploratissimo rerum et animorum statu, hæc traditurus sim [sum] modo omnium maxime legitimo. “Quis tandem (inquies) est modus ille legitimus? Quin tu mitte artes et ambages, rem exhibe nudam nobis, ut iudicio nostro uti possimus.” Atque utinam (fili suavissime) eo loco sint res vestræ, ut hoc fieri posset. An tu censes, cum omnes omnium mentium aditus ac meatus obscurissimis idolis, iisque alte hærentibus et inustis, obsecsi et obstructi sint, veris rerum et nativis radiis sinceram et politam aream adesse? Nova est ineunda ratio, qua mentibus obductissimis illabi possimus. Ut enim phreneticorum deliramenta arte et ingenio subvertuntur, vi et contentione efferrantur, omnino ita in hac universali insania mos gerendus est. . . . Ut modus innocens sit, dii gæst, nulli prorsus errori ansam et occasionem præbeat? ut vim quandam insitam et innatam habeat tum ad fidem conciliandam, tum ad pellendas injurias temporis, adeo ut scientia ita tradita veluti planta vivax et vegeta quotidie serpat et adolescat? ut idoneum et legitimum sibi lectorem seponat, et quasi adoptet? Atque hæc omnia præstiterim necne, ad tempus futurum provoco.— *Temporis Partus Masculus*, II.

APPENDIX D.

Cogitavit et illud; rem quam agit, non opinionem, sed opus esse; eamque non sectæ alicujus aut placiti, sed utilitatis et amplitudinis immensæ fundamenta jacere. Itaque de re non modo perficienda, sed et communicanda et tradenda (qua par est cura) cogitationem suspiciendam esse. Reperit autem homines in rerum scientia quam sibi videntur adepti, interdum proferenda, interdum occultanda, famæ et ostentationi servire: quin et eos potissimum qui minus solida proponunt, solere ea quæ afferunt obscura et ambigua luce venditare, ut facilius vanitati suæ velificare possint. Putare autem, se id tractare quod ambitione aliqua aut affectatione polluere minime dignum sit: sed tamen necessario eo decurrendum esse (nisi forte rerum et animorum valde imperitus esset, et non explorato viam inire vellet) ut satis meminerit, inveteratos semper errores, tanquam phreneticorum deliramenta, arte et ingenio subverti, vi et contentione efferari. Itaque prudentia ac morigeratione quadam utendum (quanta cum simplicitate et candore conjungi potest), ut contradictiones ante extinguantur quam excitentur. Ad hunc finem parare se de naturæ interpretatione atque de natura ipsa opus, quod errores minima asperitate destruere, et ad hominum sensus non turbide accedere possit: quod et facilius fore, quod se non pro dūce gesturus, sed ex natura ipsa lucem præbiturus et sparsurus sit, ut dūce postea non sit opus. Sed cum tempus interea fugiat, et ipse rebus civilibus plus quam vellet immistus esset, id longum videri: præcertim cum incerta vitæ cogitaret, et aliquid in tuto collocare festinaret. Venit ei itaque in mentem, posse aliquid simplicius proponi, quod in vulgus non editum, saltem tamen ad rei tam salutaris abortum arcendum satis esse possit. Atque diu et acriter rem cogitanti et perpendenti, ante omnia visum est ei, Tabulas Inveniendi, sive legitimæ Inquisitionis formulas in aliquibus subjectis, proponi tanquam ad exemplum, et operis descriptionem fere visibilem. Neque enim aliud quicquam reperiri, quod aut veræ viæ aut errorum devia in clariore luce ponere, aut ea quæ afferuntur nihil minus quam verba esse evidentius demonstrare possit: neque etiam quod magis fugiendum esset ab homine qui aut rei diffideret aut eam in magis accipi aut celebrari cuperet. *Tabulis autem propositis et visis, non ambigere quin timidiora ingenia subitura sit quadam hæsitatio et fere desperatio de similibus Tabulis in aliis materiis sive subjectis conficiendis: atque ita sibi in exemplo gratulaturos ut etiam præcepta desiderent.** Plurimorum autem studia ad usum Tabularum supremum et ultimum, et clavem ipsam interpretationis poscendam

* Cicero and Cesar both use the verb *desidere* to express simple loss. The strong adversative with which the following sentence begins plainly shows that such is its meaning here.

arrecta fore: ac multo ardentius ad novam faciem naturæ saltem aliqua ex parte visendam, quæ per hujusmodi clavem resignata sit et in conspectum data. Verum sibi in animo esse, nec proprio nec aliorum desiderio servienti, sed rei conceptæ consulenti, Tabulis cum aliquibus communicatis, reliqua cohibere, donec tractatus qui ad populum pertinet edatur. Et tamen animo providere, ingenia firmiora et sublimiora, etiam absque majoribus auxiliis, ab oblatiis monitos, reliqua ex se et speraturos et potituros esse. Fere enim se in ea esse opinione, nempe (quod quispiam dixit) prudentibus hæc satis fore, imprudentibus autem ne plura quidem. Se nihilominus de cogitatis nil intermissurum. Quod autem ad tabulas ipsas attinet, visum est nimis abruptum esse ut ab ipsis docendi initium sumatur. Itaque idonea quædam præfari oportuisse; quod et jam se fecisse arbitratur, nec universa quæ hucusque dicta sunt alio tendere. Hoc insuper velle homines non latere, nullis inveniendi formulis (more, nunc apud homines et artes recepto) necessitatem imponere; sed certe omnibus pertentatis, ex multo usu et nonnullo ut putat judicio, eam quam probavit et exhibuit inquirendi formulam verissimam atque utilissimam esse. Nec tamen se officere quominus ii qui otio magis abundant, aut a difficultatibus quas primo experientem sequi necesse est liberi jam erunt, aut majoris etiam et altioris sunt ingenii, rem in potius perducant: nam et ipsum statuere, artem inveniendi proculdubio cum inventis adolescere. Ad extremum autem visum est ei, si quid in his quæ dicta sunt aut dicentur boni inveniantur, id tanquam adipem sacrificii Deo dicari, et hominibus, ad Dei similitudinem, sano affectu et charitate hominum bonum procurantibus.— *Cogitata et Visa.*

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